

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 028498

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

EXDIS BELGRADE FOR SILBERMAN

FOLLOWING REPEAT LUXEMBOURG 129 ACTION SECSTATE INFO

USUN 02 FEB

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUXEMBOURG 0129

STADIS

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEWIS, IO

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ILO, PORG

SUBJECT: TUC POSITION PAPER ON U. S. NOTICE OF WITHDRAWAL  
FROM ILO

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF POSITION PAPER PROVIDED BY CRYRIL  
PLAMT, TUC PRESIDENT, TO U. K. FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAHAN.  
PAPER WAS RECEIVED FROM TRADE UNION SOURCE WHO SHOULD BE  
PROTECTED. PAPER WAS WRITTEN IN MID-NOVEMBER SHORTLY AFTER  
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U. S. GAVE NOTICE TO ILO.

2. TITLE OF TUC BRIEFING PAPER IS QUOTE UNITED STATES NOTICE  
OF WITHDRAWAL FROM ILO AND POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS UNQUOTE.

THE UNITED STATES HAS FORMALLY GIVEN THE ILO TWO YEARS NOTICE OF ITS INTENTION TO WITHDRAW UNLESS CERTAIN CONDITIONS ARE "PROMOTED" WHICH WILL FACILITATE ITS CONTINUED PARTICIPATION. THE SECRETARY OF STATE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THIS WILL BE THE OUTCOME - "THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT DESIRE TO LEAVE THE ILO" HE WROTE "THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT EXPECT TO DO SO".

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LETTER OF 6 NOVEMBER CITES FOUR AREAS OF "FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN". THESE ARE THE EROSION OF TRIPARTITE REPRESENTATION, A SELECTIVE CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, A DISREGARD OF DUE PROCESS AND INCREASING POLITICISATION OF THE ORGANISATION. THE NUB OF THE AMERICAN POSITION IS CONTAINED IN THE VIEW THAT THE ILO "APPEARS TO BE TURNING AWAY FROM ITS BASIC AIMS AND OBJECTIVES AND INCREASINGLY TO BE USED FOR PURPOSES WHICH SERVE THE INTERESTS OF NEITHER THE WORKERS FOR WHOM THE ORGANISATION WAS ESTABLISHED NOR NATIONS WHICH ARE COMMITTED TO FREE TRADE UNIONS AND OPEN POLITICAL PROCESS". THE EFFECTS OF THIS FORCEFUL STAND - OR AS SOME ARE BOUND TO SEE IT, OF THE "USE OF THE BIG STICK" - CAN BE EXAMINED UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADINGS:

#### 1. EAST WEST RELATIONS

IT IS NOT A COINCIDENCE THAT THIS ACTION HAS FOLLOED SO SHORTLY UPON THE HELSINKI DECLARATION. WHILE THE LETTER WAS SIGNED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE, ITS INSPIRATION IS THAT OF GEORGE MEANY AND THE RIGHT WING OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCENE AND REPRESENTS THEIR RIPOSTE TO THE POLICY OF DETENTE ESPOUSED BY SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER AND THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

AT A TIME WHEN PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING OF FRANCE AND PRESIDENT SCHEEL OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAVE GONE TO MOSCOW TO PREACH AN EXTENSION OF DETENTE TO THE IDEOLOGICAL SPHERE, THE MESSAGE CONTAINED IN THE LETTER TO THE ILO IS THAT CO-EXISTENCE CANNOT BE EXTENDED TO IDEOLOGY. WHILE AGREEING ON CONFIDENTIAL

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SECURITY PACTS AND DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EASTERN BLOC, WHILE MAKING COMMERCIAL DEALS WITH THE COMMUNIST STATES, THE AFL/CIO CONSIDERS IT INTOLERABLE TO SEEK ANY COMPROMISE ON THE BASIC IDEAS OF TRIPARTISM WHICH ARE ENSHRINED IN THE ILO CONSTITUTION.

THE AFL/CIO IS NOT PREPARED TO TREAT SOVIET MANAGERS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH FREE ENTERPRISE EMPLOYERS. IT IS NOT PREPARED TO TURN A BLIND EYE TO THE FACT THAT COMMUNIST TRADE UNIONS ARE LITTLE MORE THAN "TRANSMISSION BELTS" FOR PARTY DECISIONS. AS THE LETTER STATES, "WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS GROUPS IN THE ILO FALLING UNDER THE DOMINATION OF GOVERNMENTS".

WHAT WILL BE THE EFFECT OF THE AMERICAN MOVE ON EAST WEST RELATIONS IN THE ILO? THE ILO IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS OF EAST WEST CONTACT, BEING PROBABLY THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE INTERNATIONAL FORUM, WHERE 126 NATIONS ARE REPRESENTED BY TRIPARTITE DELEGATIONS EMBRACING GOVERNMENTS, EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS. AT THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION, THE WESTERN POWERS SOUGHT - IN THE FACE OF SOCIALIST COUNTRY RESISTANCE - TO PROMOTE A MAXIMUM EXCHANGE OF PERSONS AND IDEAS, THIS POLICY BEING CONSIDERED AN EFFECTIVE METHOD OF WEAKENING THE COMMUNIST PARTY GRIP IN COUNTRIES WITH MONOLITHIC SYSTEMS. SO FAR, HOWEVER, THE AGREEMENT SIGNED AT HELSINKI ABOUT EXCHANGE OF PERSONS AND IDEAS HAS REMAINED A DEAD LETTER FOR THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

ON THE OTHER HAND, ILO CONFERENCES AND ROUND TABLE MEETINGS, AS WELL AS FELLOWSHIPS AND RECRUITMENT OF EXPERTS, PROVIDE A CONTINUOUS FORUM AND CHANNEL FOR EXCHANGE OF IDEAS, METHODS AND PERSONS. AT ILO CONFERENCES, EAST EUROPEAN MANAGERS AND TRADE UNIONISTS HAVE SEEN AT FIRST HAND THE EMANCIPATION FROM GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OPPOSITE NUMBERS FROM MARKET ECONOMY COUNTRIES.

THE UNITED STATES ACTION THREATENS TO DAMPEN, IF NOT STOP, THIS INTERCHANGE OF IDEAS AND PERSONS, PRECISELY AT A TIME WHEN THIS HAS BECOME A CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF WESTERN POLICY.

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## 2. REGIONALISATION

THE UNITED STATES THREAT TO THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE ILO CAN BE EXPECTED TO STRENGTHEN CENTRIFUGAL TRENDS IN THE ORGANIZATION. IT MAY BE ANTICIPATED THAT REGIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATIONS (SUCH AS THE ARAB LABOUR ORGANISATION) MIGHT SEEK TO STEP INTO THE VACUUM CREATED BY A WEAKENED GLOBAL ORGANISATION AND SEEK TO ACT AS CONDUITS FOR UNITED STATES DEVELOPMENT AID FUNDS.

SUCH A TREND WOULD MEAN THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ILO AS A VALUABLE INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENT FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE ADVANCED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES INFLUENCE FROM ILO AND ITS ABSENCE FROM REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO PURSUE THE OBJECTIVES OF PROMOTING THESE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES WHICH ALLEGEDLY LIE AT THE HEART OF UNITED STATES CONCERN; HUMAN RIGHTS, FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES, INDEPENDENT WORKERS' AND EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS.

### 3. STRUCTURE

MANY CONTENTIOUS QUESTIONS AFFECTING THE RELATIONSHIP OF DEVELOPING AND INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES (INCLUDING THE GREAT POWERS' RETENTION OF PERMANENT SEATS IN THE GOVERNING BODY AND THE SYSTEM FOR ELECTING THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL) HAVE BEEN REFERRED SYSTEMATIC DISCUSSION TO THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE. THIS COMMITTEE HAS BEEN CONDUCTING ITS BUSINESS IN AN ORDERLY MANNER FOR THE LAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS. THE PROCEDURE FOLLOWED UPON MANY HEATED DISCUSSIONS IN THE CONFERENCE, WHICH HAD A PARALYSING EFFECT.

THE PRESENT UNITED STATES ACTION THREATENS TO UPSET THIS PROCEDURE AND TO THROW THE DISCUSSION BACK INTO THE CONFERENCE. SOME MEMBERS OF THE GROUP OF 77 CAN BE EXPECTED TO REFUSE TO PURSUE THE STRUCTURE ISSUE UNDER WHAT THEY MIGHT SEE AS DURESS. THE RESULTING TURMOIL IN THE CONFERENCE COULD ONLY ADD TO THE UNITED STATES CHARGES OF POLITICISATION OF THE CONFERENCE. A VICIOUS CIRCLE THUS RISKS TO BE CREATED.  
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### 4. TECHNICAL PROGRAMMES

THE WEAKENING OF THE WESTERN POSITION IN THE ILO WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM UNITED STATES WITHDRAWAL MIGHT LEAD TO ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN PROGRAMMES.

THE COMMUNIST STATES IN PARTICULAR HAVE ALWAYS OBJECTED TO ILO ASSISTANCE TO EMPLOYER ORGANISATIONS, EVEN IN THE FACE OF ASSERTIONS THAT SUCH HELP IS DIRECTED TO MAKING MANAGEMENT MORE ENLIGHTENED IN THE SENSE OF BEING CONCERNE FOR THE WELFARE OF THE WORKER.

PUBLIC INFORMATION ACTIVITIES OF THE ILO AND EFFORTS TO PROJECT CONCEPTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, WHICH ARE CONSTANT TARGETS FOR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' ECONOMY DRIVES, MIGHT DISAPPEAR.

ILO ACTIVITIES WITH REGARD TO MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT MIGHT BECOME DISTORTED BY WEAKENED WESTERN INFLUENCE TO BECOME VEHICLES FOR COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA.

A STRENGTHENING OF THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WOULD LEAD TO A PLAYING DOWN OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY UNDERLYING THE ILO'S TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION ACTIVITIES; TMUS THE WORKERS EDUCATION PROGRAMME, LARGELY FINANCED UNDER THE REGULAR BUDGET, AND A POWERFUL VEHICLE FOR PROPAGANDA FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY, WOULD SUFFER.

SUB-CONTRACTING OF WORK TO THE TURIN CENTRE - AT PRESENT A KEY ELEMENT IN THE BUDGET OF THE INSTITUTION - MIGHT BECOME MORE DIFFICULT. THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED ANY FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE CENTRE FROM THE ILO.

5. NORTH SOUTH RELATIONS

ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, BRITAIN IS TO LEAD THE DISCUSSION ON NORTH SOUTH RELATIONS AT THE THREE DAY SUMMIT MEETING OF THE SIX WESTERN INDUSTRIALISED NATIONS AT RAMBOUILLET. IN EXAMINING THE FACT THAT PERSISTENT UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION IN THE INDUSTRIALISED MARKET ECONOMY COUNTRIES CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MAJOR ROAD BLOCKS TO STRUCTURAL REFORM OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE ILO'S "TRIPARTITE WORLD CONFERENCE ON EMPLOYMENT, INCOME DISTRIBUTION, SOCIAL PROGRESS AND INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR" WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO MEET IN GENEVA IN JUNE 1976, WILL BE A KEY FORUM FOR EXAMINING NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICIES TO TACKLE MASS POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE POOREST COUNTRIES. THE INTERNATIONAL POLICIES TO BE EXAMINED WILL INCLUDE MEASURES FOR INCREASING EXPORT FROM DEVELOPING TO INDUSTRIALIST COUNTRIES AND POLICIES FOR ORDERLY AND ACCEPTABLE EMPLOYMENT ADJUSTMENT IN THE INDUSTRIALIST COUNTRIES TO CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL PATTERNS OF PRODUCTION AND TRAINING.

AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ILO WOULD NO DOUBT REDUCE THE CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE ALREADY EXERTED BY THE UNITED STATES WHEN IT COMES TO FOLLOW UP ON THE CONFERENCE, IF NOT DURING THE CONFERENCE ITSELF. THE FIELD WOULD BE MORE OPEN TO COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ON THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN OTHER COUNTRIES. AN IMPORTANT CHANNEL OF DISCUSSION WITH THE LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ABOUT CERTAIN IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS WOULD THUS VANISH.

FARKAS  
UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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